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XII. COMMENTS ON AN INSCRIPTION UPON MARBLE, AT MADHUCARGHAR; and three Grants Inscribed on Copper, found at Ujjayani, by Major James Tod.

Read June 19, 1824.

I have the honour to present to the Society, three copper-plates, and to submit translations of the inscriptions on two of them.* They were obtained by me from the ancient city of Avanti, or Ujain (Ujjayanı), about twelve years ago.

At the same time I adjoin a translation of a third inscription relative to the same family (of which these plates are records), and which I was so fortunate as to discover in my last tour of Central India, in 1822.

These will be considered of consequence, as they at once fix the period of a celebrated dynasty, and an important era in the history and literature of India.

The dynasty, of which they are memorials, is the *Prámára*, vulgarly *Püár* or *Powár*, one of the most distinguished of the *Rája-cúla*, or Royal Races of India. It is one of the four tribes, to which I alluded in a former paper, claiming their origin from the personified element of fire, in common with the other races of *Agni-cúla*; the *Cháhamána*, *Parihára*, and *Sólankí*.

I know of no tribe having a more wide range over the historical field of India, than that in question. It enjoyed more extensive dominion than any other of the race of Agni; and had acquired it at a much earlier period: for, though four existed collaterally, as independent monarchs, yet the glory of the Prámáras was on the wane, when that of the Sólankís, the famed Balhara (Ballabh raï), kings of Narhwára, was in the zenith; to which the Cháhamánas were rapidly approximating; and, in their success, extinguished the independence of the fourth, or Parihára, dynasty of Mandówar.

So extensive was the *Prámara* sway, that the couplet, or "Dóhá," in the Doric dialect of these parts, "Pirthí! tain na Pówár ka," "Earth, thou art the *Powár's*," has little of the hyperbole, when restricted to the Indian world: and, though we cannot see the link of succession, it seems to have been the first tribe that succeeded to the extensive power which the *Yádavas* had so long maintained before them.

There are more ramifications (Sác'hás) of the Prámára, than of any of the "Ch'hétis Rája-cúla," or thirty-six royal races, excepting the Ch'hépan cúla Yádava, or fifty-six tribes of the Yádavas, celebrated in the Sacred Books. The Prámáras enumerate no less than thirty-six.

On an inscription, in my possession, of the *Grahilóte* race, the eulogist does not limit their number; and says, in the usual figurative style, "Apramáńa śác'há" "of innumerable ramifications;" though the *Grahilótes* are in fact limited to twenty-four.

The names of all the thirty-six *Prámara* tribes are not now to be collected. About one third may be given with tolerable certainty of being accurate; but only the names. They are few in numbers, and without power; and, but for the itinerant bard and genealogist, would cease to know themselves.

Many now extinct, or not known under their ancient appellations, are traced in books and inscriptions. By these I have rescued a few once celebrated names and tribes, which, I may say, had else perished: amongst others, that of $L\acute{a}r$, a once powerful tribe, and said, by the only living bard I ever knew, who was acquainted with it, to be of $Pr\acute{a}m\acute{a}ra$ stock.

The Cumara-pála-charitra (which I this day present to the Society) mentions the celebrated Java-sinha of Pattana "having extirpated the remnant of the race of Lár," from the peninsula of Sauráshtra, in which it was formerly all powerful. Doubtless this tribe furnished Ptolemy with the name, which he gives in his geography, of this peninsula, "Larike;" and he places a Byzantium near the very spot, the ancient Ballabhí (which I had the good fortune to discover), the capital of the Ballabhí-ráïs, and the origin of their title. Their capital was afterwards transferred to "Nehrwála;" which that great geographer. D'Anville, had "fort à cœur de retrouver," and which I had the happiness to find still as a suburb to Pattana Anurwára: evidently the corruption of the original name, Analavát'a; and which Abul Fazil had discovered in Akber's reign.

For the existence of several tribes, extinct else in their martial capacity, search ought to be made amongst the mercantile races of Rájast'hán; almost all of whom are of Rájaputra origin; especially the numerous, or innumerable, classes of the Jain laity.

Amongst the eighty-four grand divisions of the *Vaisya*, I find that of $L\dot{a}r$: but I never had an opportunity to converse with one, to whom I could apply for information as to the period of their renouncing arms and becoming proselytes of the *Jains*.

Silára is another branch. An inscription (in the 1st vol. As. Res.) of a prince of this tribe, gives his capital Tagara, his title Ari-césari, or the Lion of Aria, which, with Larike, seems to have formed the ancient Balhara sovereignty; and of the former part of which Aria-ke, Tagara, and Callian (Calyáńa), were the chief cities.

In another list, Silura is given as of Prámára race; probably another mode of writing Sílára; and both from Lár, with the distinctive prefix of Sí for Su, meaning excellent.

The Dahya and Johya; were once celebrated on the Setlej, both now extinct. These may be the Dahæ of Alexander, and of the Parthian kings. § Sankla is one of the few tribes, having still "a local habitation and a name;" its residence is in Marwar, || at the bend of the Lúní river; and its reputation for bravery is still very great.

The Kheir and Mori branches were once renowned, Kheirálú ¶ and

^{*} Some of these have numerous shoots or families, (for tribes would be a misnomer). The Oswil for instance, most of whom follow the tenets of the Khartra gachha sect of Jains, have near eighteen hundred of these subdivisions. My own learned friend and Guru, Yati Gya'na Chandra, was high in rank amongst the disciples of the Pontiff of the Khartras, had upwards of seventeen hundred names of families of his flock scattered over India, and piqued himself upon his catalogue; when a brother, from Guzzerat, added at once upwards of a hundred. He renounced thenceforth the task of tracing their affiliations.

[†] See note B.

[‡] I believe I succeeded, just before I left India, in getting a work relative to this tribe, but too late to examine it: it shall be deposited with the Society.

^{§ &}quot;The Arsacian King, Bardanes, conquered all, to the Sind river, which divides the Dahi from the Arii." Lewis' Parthian Empire, p. 249.

^{||} Maru or Marubhú.

[¶] In Guzzerat.

Chitore, their capitals. But what will excite some surprise, the celebrated Hun is enrolled as a branch of the Prámáras. That Europe only was deluged with this race, we knew well was not the case: Cosmos relates the White Huns, or Abtelites, being in India in the fifth century; and Dr. Wilkins made the world acquainted with the fact, that they had invaded Bengal, from the record of Déb-pál-déb,* "who humbled the pride of the Huns," to use the words of the translator of the inscription engraven on the pillar near Buddal. † My journey to Guzzerat led me to discover, that they were even vet not extinct: the name still lived; but it is "vox et præterea nihil," confined to a few miserable families near the estuary ofthe Mahi river, poor and degraded, and without any recollection of their origin. Various authorities acquaint us with the fact of Indo-Scythian tribes overrunning all these tracts; and their descendants are still there. The Kdthi (the Cathei), still brave and independent, as when they opposed Alexander, and scarcely reconciled to the paternal government, which has made them turn their javelins; into plough-shares. They can be traced from the Pancha-nada, the Sangama, or junction, of the "Five streams" of the Indus, to their present abodes.

The Prámára genealogist enlists the Káthi into his catalogue; or rather, ambition has made these Scythians (the Sun still the great object of adoration) wish to get a niche in the Hindu pantheon; and which appears to have been a matter of no great difficulty, from the suspicious characters we find there.

Ptolemy gives a "Regnum Parthorum," existing in the second century, embracing all these tracts from *Multán* to the gulph of Cambay; and to that the *Ráná's* ancestors must have owed expulsion from *Ballabhí*, in the sixth century. But this is wandering from the subject.

^{*} See note C.

[†] The translator's words are "Hoons of humbled pride." As. Res. V. 1. p. 136-7.-H.T.C.

[†] The Kat'hi lance is made to dart, as well as for close action.

[§] I attribute to this dynasty a series of coins of an interesting description, on which I shall hereafter offer some remarks. Legends, in rude Greek characters, mark these to be a branch of the Arsacian line. For they assume the same lofty titles EXCIXEYC. EXCIXEWC CUTHPUC: on others, METXXOY instead of Soteros; making it still more Parthian, the latter epithet being borne by the Bactrian princes, who never did assume this "of the great King of Kings"

The regal chair of the *Prámáras* was fixed in *Avanti*, long before the Christian era. Vicramáditya was not the first conspicuous monarch who wielded the sceptre in this ancient city; though he is a most important one, and might be placed as the fixed point, both in their geography* and history.

CHANDRAGUPTA, who has generally been supposed to be the Sandracottus of Alexander and Seleucus, was of the *Prámára* tribe, and the branch Mori, not Maurya, as it has probably been interpolated, and which held *Chitracút a (Chitore)*, as a grand fief from *Avanti*, so late as the eighth century, when taken by a prince of the *Grahilote* tribe, ancestor of the present *Ráná* of *Mewár*.

CHANDRAGUPTA, in the Puránas, is placed as the descendant of Sehesnág of the Tacshac race (most probably the Tachari of higher Asia), which appears to have invaded India from the north, six or seven centuries before the Christian era.

The inscription, to which I alluded (in my paper on the Cháhamánas),† of a Chandragupta, was dated Samvat 466, but I said it was doubtful whether of the Vicrama or Viráta era. It was given to me by the Hierarch of the Khartrágachha, the first of all the Jain sects; and is in a character disused in India, but which he and his librarian, and two of his chief disciples, can read. With it were other interesting inscriptions of the same kind, (but modified); and a key to the character I shall have the honour to present on some future occasion to the Society.

The Viráta-Samvat is that of Mahávíra, the last of the twenty-four deified Jinéśwaras; and was established four hundred and seventy-seven years anterior to that of Vicramáditya, and continued in use long after the latter: but when it began to be generally used is uncertain; and it consequently causes considerable doubt, when referring to Jaina dates. I am not sure that it is not still used in sacred matters.

Now it is related, that Mahavíra expounded to Chandragupta, the Lord of Avantí, his twelve dreams. This Chandragupta, therefore, could not be the ally of Seleucus. But the same proper names recur at intervals in many genealogies.

Bayer, in his history of the Bactrian kingdom, and D'Anville, both

^{*} Avanti is the first meridian of the Hindu astronomers.

⁺ See page 133 of this volume.

borrowing from the same source (Nicolas of Damascus),* say, that Porus, king of Ogene, who enumerated six hundred kings, his dependants, sent an embassy to Augustus at Rome; thus making a proper name of the tribe Pówár: nor is it impossible, from the same mistake, the opponent of Alexander may have been designated; though Paurha + or Paurush (which means power, strength) was a common distinctive appellation of the Yádavas, who certainly were in the route of Alexander. It is to these authorities, and that of Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador from James I. to Jehangír, that the Ráná's family is indebted for the honour of descent from Porus. One of the most considerable branches of his family is termed Puráwat, descendants of Puru, a son of Udaya sinha, from whom Chitore was wrested by Akber. His stock must have been pretty numerous when Sir Thomas there saw young Kurrun (Caran), the heir apparent of Udayapur, in whose praise he is so lavish: "Here we have (says he in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury) the true descendant of Porus, a prince, in the midst of the Mogul dominions, and who has never been conquered." The latter point is correct: they had often been defeated; not a city left in the plains, not a house to shelter them; but to that period they never had been subdued.

Like the Carthaginian of old, swearing young Hannibal at the altar to eternal hatred to the Romans, so did the noble Pratápa sinha, the opponent of Akber, in his last moments, make his son Amara swear, not hatred, but eternal war, and never to know the luxury of a roof over his head, until Chitore should be regained. He even commanded the nobles to withdraw their allegiance, if this, his last command, was disobeyed, and to set up another branch of the family. Temporary success, and consequent repose, made AMARA forget the injunction; he erected a mansion ‡ on the banks of the Paisholah lake at Udayapur; and amongst its garniture, some splendid mirrors of European fabric from Surat. The nobles began to follow his example, though Chitore, their ancient capital, was still in the hands of the foe. Recollecting the injunctions of Pratapa (a name they yet love to dwell on), the Salúmbra chief, the first of the nobles, convened his brethren; and in a body they expostulated with their prince, insisting that he should immediately relinquish the abode of luxury for the field. Not meeting with compliance, the chieftain seized the marble ornament

^{*} Eclaircissement, p. 177.

which keeps down the carpet, and dashed it against the splendid mirror. Rage was unavailing; the patriot chief called for his prince's steed, and compelled him to mount. A flood of tears succeeded the indignity; which were allowed to flow without any signs of sympathy by the stern chief: when, suddenly, a nobler sentiment came to mind; he bowed and thanked the Salúmbra chief, and, drawing his sword, told him to lead the way. That very day, they stormed and took Untálá.* I shall be excused the notice of this anecdote, as it shews the character of the people, and warrants the praise which the ambassador of England bestowed. Such men could not be conquered!

Yet, with every wish, I could never trace the connection of the Ráná's family to the Porus of Alexander; though his ancestor, when first attacked by the Muhammedans, had "eighty-four kings assembled within his walls, for the defence of Chútôre." The six hundred of the Powár must have been a Hindu exaggeration.

The letter to Augustus was written in the Greek character; and Bayer's authority, Nicolas of Damascus,† says it was so, and he had seen it. Considerable traffic was carried on by them in those days; and Greek merchants were settled in various parts of the coasts. The personage in the suite of the ambassador, who voluntarily ended his days at Athens on the pyre, was most probably a Jaina.‡

ABUL FAZIL'S sketch of the *Prámára* dynasty, in the institutes of AKBER, is too imperfect to be of the slightest use; and is the worst of his many indifferent genealogies.

Avantí and Dháránagarí were the chief seats of Prámára power. It extended south, however, of the Nermadá; and comprehended all Central and Western India, or what is erroneously termed Rajputáná.

The Indus, and Setlej or Garah, were its western limits. Many of the traditionary couplets in India contain historical facts. That which records

^{*} A fortress about twenty miles east of the pass which conducts into the valley of Udayapur.

[†] Historia Regni Græcorum Bactriana, p. 109. "Tanto autem post Eucratidem tempore, cum ad Cæsarem Augustum a Pandione Poroque Indiæ regibus legati venirent, Nicolaus Damascenus, qui cum iis Antiochiæ ad Daphnem egit, testatur habuisse eos, epistolam Græcam in Diphthera Scriptam, quæ significavit, quod Porus sex centorum regum princeps cum scripserit."

[‡] See Note E.

the extent of sway of the various Prámára branches in the north-west regions of Maru-st'hali* is very correct. It contains the names of the chiefs who founded and ruled over its nine divisions,† or places of strength.

The descendants of some among them still occupy the same places: as the Soda prince of Dhát in the Desert, of which Amaracut'a is the capital. has the title of Ráná. It was his ancestor who was killed by Jeláluddín, in his flight into India from the Great Jangíz.

Arbuda or A'bú is, however, the cradle where the Prámára was at least regenerated. On this sacred mount I have seen the statues of the first and of the last of its independent princes.

That of the first, A'rpál (A'dipála), shooting at Bhainsásur (Mahishásura), is a marble statue nearly four feet in height, standing on the edge of the Mandácana cund or fountain. He has just shot his arrow, which has pierced three of those monsters, who are feigned to have drained the fountain of its waters. These are modern representations of the fabulous monsters, (the old having fallen down), and are poorly executed in black slate stone; but the figure of A'rpál; is far superior to any thing they could execute in these days. A few indistinct words were engraven on the pedestal; but no date: There cannot be a doubt, however, of its high antiquity. It was too sacred a relict to think of removing it from the spot whence it derived its chief value.

That of the last of the Prámáras, not 700 years old, represents Duá-RÁBARSA, the last independent prince of A'bú, supplicating the offended Patáléśwara § to pardon his sacrilege, and restore his kingdom, which fell to Ки́теви D Dín . He was the last of his line, called Daraparissa by Ferishta:

^{*} Deserts: literally Region of Death. J. T.

Maru desert, and si'halí dry land. Maru is derived from mri to die: a region where one dies. H.T.C.

^{† 1} Arbuda or Abú.

² Parkar in the desert.

³ Jaléndra or Jalore.

⁴ Dhát or Amaracut'a.

⁵ Mandáwar (near Jódhpur.)

⁶ Púgal (N. W. of Bikanér.)

⁷ Khairálu (in Guzzarat.)

⁸ Dhár and Avantí.

⁹ Lódarwa (ancient capital before Jesalmér was built.)

[†] A'r-pal or A'di-pala, i.e. the first Pala: which may be further translated the first fostered, or first born.

⁶ The Lord of the infernal regions.

who makes honourable mention of him, for his noble resistance to the Imperial Legions. This branch of the *Prámáras*, probably held A'bú and its dependances as a fief of Dhár; and, as the latter lost importance, A'bú maintained itself independent, or in a state of vassalage, alternately to the Balhara (Ballabhi-raï) sovereigns, or to the kings of Dehli.

Thus Jait and Sulakha, the ancestors of Dhárábarsa, were extricated from subservience to the Ballabhi-raïs, only to grace the array of Pirthwí-Rája, who married the daughter of Jait, and bestowed on him the office of Prad'hán;* and both lost their lives in his service. The death of Sulakhat is mentioned in my former paper. The Black Castle of the Prámáras, built of immense blocks of granite, grey with lichen, perched on a pinnacle of this noble mountain, is a majestic ruin. The gateway (arched, if my memory does not betray me,) is yet nearly perfect, flanked by enormous massive towers. The Palmyra has taken root in its deserted court, and flutters its huge leaves, where all is silent, save the screams of the peacock.

As I passed through the portal, the devotion of Sulakha was forcibly brought to mind; and I had but to ascend a few steps, and look from the ruined parapet, to view A'r-pál, the founder, shooting Bhainsásur. At the base of the western face of the stupendous Arabullah chain, I was so fortunate as to discover an ancient city of this race, called Chandrávatí, which has long been the haunt of wild beasts. From its ready formed materials, Ahmedabad arose: which accounts for the Hindu style of architecture in this city. I have an inscription, 600 years old, which mentions Chandrávatí; but it was of little interest, till I discovered the ruin itself, about fourteen miles east of A'bú. The town is mentioned in the Bhója Charitra, as will be seen. It is in these stupendous ranges where search should be made for ancient remains. In such, now inhabited by wild beasts, I have discovered places once the abode of crowned heads.

There is little doubt that the *Prámára* was the first race which succeeded to the great power possessed by the *Yádavas*.

^{*} Chief Minister.

⁺ Orthography and pronunciation cannot be strictly attended to, when there is a variety of information which bears on family history: for the genealogists and poets, in the vernacular dialects, have no certain standard themselves, but shorten or lengthen names according to the metre, Silakh, Sulakh, or Sulakhan: for each and all are but corrupt contractions of the compound epithet Sulacshana " of good qualities."

Imperfectly as we can trace this extent of power, yet we can discover, in no other succeeding dynasty, the like. The sovereigns of Nehrwala Pattan were rich and powerful; and, for three reigns, their authority extended over eighteen different states, reduced by them to dependence. It was at this period El Edrisi visited that country, and he repeats what had already been told by the "travellers," of the ninth century, concerning the "Balhara" kings, though the dynasty had changed from the Chaura to Solanki tribes. The Tüár dynasty, for near four hundred years (from the eighth to the twelfth century), exercised extensive sovereignty, in which they must have often clashed with the Balharas; whose power was at the full in the same period; and each rose on the downfall of the Prámára. It is a singular fact, that scions of old dynasties were forming new kingdoms in various parts of India, about the very time that the religion of Muhammed was moving eastward: for the arms of Walid were simultaneously exhibited in Khorasán, on the waters of the Indus, and in Spain, towards the end of the first century of the Hejira; and about the same time, from A.D. 750 to 800, various new dynasties were planted: Dehli by a branch of the Tuár line; Pattan (Nehrwala) by the Chauras; Chitore by the Ranas; and, not long after, Canwajja (Canouj), by the Rahtore. It is from the first century of Vicramáditya, to these new establishments, we are most in want of information: and all that we yet have to fill up these seven centuries, is little more than a string of names. Even such is seized with avidity, where nothing before was forthcoming. It is by neglecting nothing, however slight or isolated the fragment, we may fill up eventually some of these blanks: but to be of use, the search must be extensive. I have more than once found an old couplet, borne in the memory, serve as a clue to the establishment of a valuable and useful fact, which could not else have been applicable.

The bard Chand describes the dynasties, enjoying sovereignty when he writes, as having originally emanated in grants from the *Prámára*, of whom their ancestors appear to have held in capite. It forms an episode in the relation of the battle between Prit'hwirája and the monarch of *Canwajja*.

In the heat of action, after the Lord of Dehli had cut to pieces every thing which opposed him, he is encountered by the body guard of Javachand, which consists of one thousand Rájputs, of whom a very animated description is afforded. Struck with their appearance, the Cháhamána sovereign asks 'who they are?' which serves as a theme for the bard, and yields us comparatively important historical information at the same time.

Like the knights of St. John at Jerusalem, these heroes were devoted to celibacy; and lived as ascetics in the depths of the forests where they had their establishments. Their garb is singular: for not only have they the plume of the peacock (mór), as an ornament on their helms; but their bucklers are described as bearing its impress burnished on them, and the housings of their steeds. The war shell, or conch, in those days always a part of a warrior's equipment; and from which, old poems mention their always blowing a blast, before combat, or after victory. The episode is very animated in the original; and I shall venture to submit an extract from my defective version, which may be listened to from curiosity.

EXTRACT.

"Who are those, said Prithi-Raj, in the guise of the recluse? Those, replied Chand, enjoy the blessing of Nared! One thousand warriors of unspotted race served the prince of Tailang, equal to a million in arms. A thousand shells they sounded on the banks of Ocean, their abode. Like the thunderbolt is their soul: their devotion to the spirit alone, each the purest of the tribe of Rájaputra.

"When the Prámára of Tailang took sanctuary with the creator, to the thirty-six tribes he made gifts of land. To Kehar he gave Katair; to Rái Pahár, the coasts of Sind: Ráma Prámár Tailang made the grant; and to these, the forest lands. Pattan he gave to the Chaurás; Sámbhar to the Chóháns; and Canwaj to the Khamdhaj; Már-dés to the Parihárs; Sorat h to the Yádavas; Dakhin to the Jawala; and Kuch to the Chárans.

"Twisted in their braided locks is the peacock's plume. Each sounded his shell. Earth trembled, the firmament rolled, dismay seized the three worlds, clouds of dust formed a canopy over the head of JAYACHAND. To each warrior of the shell, he gave a sword. A peal was rung, which shook Suméru with affright: their station the person of their lord, this day they had to draw their swords in his defence. On one side they rehearse the praise of their prince; the leaders of Dehli, the renown of PRITHÍ-RÁJ."

It was for historical and geographical fragments like these, that I had read to me a great part of the works of the bard.

At the period when that distribution was made, the *Prámára* well merited the title which Chand bestows on him, of *Chakwa*, (*Chacravartí*) or paramount Lord; for, not only was all that immense space, described in my former paper as *Hindust'han*, subject to him, but a great part of the *Dakhin*. The grant is mentioned as (*dána*) gift; not specific enough for a grant on the tenure of service.

Prit'hwírája made many conquests. He left the countries to the conquered, but exacted submissions, in treaties, in which subservience was the chief stipulation, such as mark the connexion with their descendants and the British government of India. Many of his hundred Sáwants, or leaders, were thus; as the Parihára of Mandówar; Jait and Silakh of A'bú; the Dahima of Biana; the Ták of Asér; the Yádava of Surdshtra, even to the prince of Gówal-cund, or Golconda. It was a feudal association of the first magnitude, such as existed in the East from the days of Darius and his Satrapies, to the twenty-two Subahs of Akber. Alexander pursued the same system, and entered into their mode of accepting service and homage by delivering a banner to the conquered prince, returning his dominions for service. The kings of Dehli followed this course. The princes of Mewar did so. Each nation has its flag and armorial bearings; the Ránás, a golden radiated sun on a crimson field; Ambere, the Pancharanga, or five-coloured banner; Chandéru had a lion (red), on a field argent; and so on.

Richardson's* ideas, that the grand outlines of the feudal system came from the East, might have been received with more attention had he been enabled to detail more of the minutiæ of it.

But I must return to the subject of the Prámáras. Of the different works, or remnants of those which relate to this family, are the Vicramacharitra, and Vicrama-vilása; the Vaitála panchavinsati, familiarly known, and which is a mere collection of fables. The Bhója-charitra and Bhója-prabandha, as they now exist, are far from possessing much value; yet, from the first of these, something may be gleaned, and it is of interest as recording the same names of princes, and in the same order of succession, as my inscriptions, on copper and marble. The few historical facts, separated from the chaff, are worthy of preservation from the testimony of their accuracy yielded by these less perishable records.

The Bhója-charitra (which, with the Bhója-prabandha, I present to the

^{*} Dissertation prefixed to Persian Dictionary.

Society) is written in Sanscrit by Rája-Vallabha the disciple of Mahî Tilaca Súri, a priest of the Dharma ghósha gach'ha, belonging to the Jaina sect. He is also the author of the Bhója-Prabandha.* When and where he wrote, though not specified, may be presumed to have been at Dháránagarí, while Rájá Bhója was still alive.*

The first canto contains an account of the adoption of Munja, and the birth of Bhója; with the conversion of Dhana-pála to the Jaina faith. Dhana-pála was the son of the celebrated Vararuchi, one of the distinguished wise men at Bhója's court, and was given for adoption, in consequence of a vow, to the Jaina priest, Siddha Séna A'chárya. Vararuchí became a most distinguished character for wisdom: and is probably the Dhanwantari, one of the nine gems of Dhár. Rájá Bhója was himself in secret a proselytet to the Jaina doctrines; as were many of the princes of that and the preceding age: particularly the dynasty of Nehrwala, which is mentioned by El Edrisi. The little, which we know of the Parihára dynasty, mentions its princes making profession of that religion: and certainly, in their ancient and now ruined capital Mandódri, the few temples left by the Muhammedans are of Jaina structure.

SINDHU-RAJA was Lord of *Dháránagarí*. He had no offspring. Accident led him to find the child Munja, \$\\$ whom he adopted.

Abul Fazil, who industriously made use of these historical fragments in his Institutes of Akbar, says, the foundling was discovered in a field of *Munja*, whence his name.

SINDHU had a son, after this, who was named SIND'HULA: but the great talents of the adopted child maintained the priority in the affections of SIND'HU. It is necessary to repeat the story which determined SIND'HU to resign the sceptre of Dhárá and Avantí to Munja; because it introduces the name of his minister, who is mentioned in the most valuable of the inscriptions, that on marble, from the ancient fortress of Madhucara-garh.

^{*} See Note F.

[†] May not the fable of his metamorphosis, and resuming his shape, refer to his adoption of the Jaina doctrines?

[‡] Four miles N. E. of Jódhpur, the present capital of Marwar.

See Note G.

[¶] See Note H.

One day Sind'hu entered suddenly the apartments of Munja, for the purpose of communicating his intentions in his favour. The young princess of Munja was with him; but, hearing the king's approach, he hid her under the bed. Supposing they were alone, Sind'hu revealed his intentions. As soon as he retired, Munja shewed, says the author, "that want of feeling, without which no man can govern a kingdom," and effectually prevented her revealing the secret, by cutting off her head.* The noise brought the old chief Sind'hu back, who was not only satisfied with his explanation, but determined to hasten his abdication. Communicating his intentions to his minister, Rudráditya,† he convened his chiefs and officers, declared his intentions, and proceeded to the coronation of Munja, whom he commanded them henceforth to acknowledge. Sind'hu retired to the Dakhin, recommending his son Sindhula to the protection of Munja. An incident, not worth repeating, roused the jealousy of Munja, who blinded the son of his benefactor.

Bhója was the son of Sind'hula, but the astrologers pronouncing that his horoscope indicated succession to the throne of Dhárá, a sufficient excuse was afforded to Munja, to add a murder to the list of his crimes. The execution of Bhója was commanded; but the person, who was entrusted with the decree, relenting on seeing the youth and beauty of the victim, revealed his orders, and concealed him. He, however, reported the deed as performed, to Munja; giving him a couplet written by Bhója, with his own blood.‡ Remorse succeeded to fear and jealousy, and he lamented, with unceasing grief, the deed he had commanded. But when the preservation of the young prince was disclosed, joy succeeded despair, generosity instead of resentment against the child's preserver; and he determined to make amends to the offspring of his benefactor. He forthwith abandoned the throne of Dháránagarí to Bhója, and, at the head of a large army, determined to conquer new possessions for himself in the

^{*} See note I.

[†] Which name appears on the Madhucara-garh marble.—J.T.

RUDRA'DITYA was son of S'IVA'DITYA the minister of RA'JA SIND'HU; and was appointed to succeed his father on the accession of MUNJA: who then delivered to him the seal of office. Bh. Ch. 1. 13. and 50.—H.T.C.

[‡] It is preserved by Abul Fazil.

south; but upon coming to action with a prince there, he was defeated, and eventually made prisoner. He is stated to have lost the battle by a stratagem of his opponent, who strewed the ground with crow feet* made of iron.

Munja, defeated, and a fugitive, took refuge in the house of a cowherd, whose dame was cursing her fate at the milk having curdled; and he announced himself by his misfortunes. "Silence your grief, woman, I was yesterday Rájá Munja, Lord of 70,000 men; now compelled to ask assistance of one like you, and these milk-fed clowns," (meaning her husband and sons). But this indiscretion cost him his liberty. They seized the enemy of their prince, and conveyed him to prison; and captivity for life was the sentence pronounced on the ex-prince of *Dháránagarí*. Shut up in a tower, one female slave was all the courtly train he had.

Вноја was grateful enough to attempt his liberation: and contrived to have communicated to him his intentions, by a mine conducted to the foot of the tower. The female attendant saw his joy; and the affection he had for her made him impart to her the secret, and entreat her to be the partner of his flight. She promised.—The moment arrived.—The earth opened to his liberation at his feet below, but at the same moment his foes appeared, led by the female of whom he so imprudently made a confidante. These pulled him by the hair above, those below by the feet; and in this struggle, the unfortunate Munja desired he might be left to his fate and captivity. This generous effort of Raja Bhója increased the miseries of Munja. enemy refined on cruelty, made him go the rounds of the city, and obtain his scanty pittance of food by begging from door to door. One day, having made his daily perambulation without obtaining even the humblest dole, he stood at the door of a baker's house, who recognized the fallen monarch, and wept at the sight. He commanded his wife to give him one of the cakes frying in butter, but the prudent wife broke it in two, and gave him but half. The famished prince greedily eyed the scanty gift, and, as it continued dripping, he thus apostrophized it: "Do you even shed tears at being thus broken by a woman's hand; so did it fare with Ráma; so did it with BHARTRIHARI; and so with Rájá Munja."

^{*} See note K.

Having thus, for some time, been made a public spectacle, his sorrows were ended by being nailed on a cross.

Such is the reported end of Munja.

In the Cumára-Pála-Charitra (of which I have made a similar use, as of the Bhója-Charitra), a work of some interest, written in the twelfth century, by Sailus Súri A'chárya, on the dynasties of Pattan Nehrwala, I found an incident related, which is deserving of notice in the paucity of historical facts and dates. It is there related, that Durlabha of Pattan, who had resigned his throne to his son Bhíma, visited Munja, in his way to Gaya, to perform pilgrimage.

Now this was precisely twelve years after the conquest of Guzzerat, by Манми́р of *Ghizni*, and the dethronement of its prince, Cháond Sólanki. That event occurred in Samvat 1067, or A.D. 1011; to this add the year of Durlabha's abdication; 1011+12=1023, A.D. or Samvat 1079.

We shall see presently how this evidence is borne out by the inscriptions; though I have others of the Sólankí race, to have corrected these annals, if requisite.

Another synchronism is established by the same authority. The celebrated SIDDHA RÁYA JAYA SINHA of Pattan conquered the Prámára territories, took the capital, and their prince NARA-VARMA prisoner. This is the NARA-VARMA of our inscriptions, the son of UDAYÁDITYA, and grandson of Bhója. Jaya Sinha, one of the most celebrated and powerful princes since the time of Vicramáditya, ruled from Samvat 1150, to Samvat 1201. Our inscription recording the grant is by the son of NARA-VARMA dated 1191.*

JAG-DÉÓ (YAJNYADÉVA) Prámára remained twelve years in the service of SIDDHA RÁYA. His name is proverbial throughout Rájest hán for fidelity and honour; and his offering of his own head at the shrine of the Indian Proserpine or Calligenia, is well known to every Rájaput.

I shall now place in one point of view, the three inscriptions and their corroborations, from the Sólankí history. I could easily add further proof, if it were requisite. But I shall reserve inscriptions of other dynasties, the Cháhamána, Grahilote, and Yadu-Bhatti, for a future

^{*} The grant bears date of Samvat 1200, confirming a prior grant in 1191.—H.T.C.

paper, in which I shall endeavour to combine the various information of this period.

Ujjayani Plates.	Madhucara-ghar marble,	Cumúra-púla-charura.	Bhója-charilra.	General Result.
			1. SINDHU	1. Sindhu
	SINDHULA	DURLABHA S.1079 abdicated Pattan, and visited Munja.	2. \ and	2. \begin{cases} Munja † \ and \ Sindhula
	Внбја		3. Вноја	3. Вно'ја
UDAYA' DITYA	Udaya' ditya		••••	4. UDAYA'DITYA
NARA-VARMA died A. D. 1134, S. 1190.	NARA-VARMA A. D. 1108 Samvat 1164.	SIDDHA RA'YA JAYA SINHA reign- ed Samvat 1150 to 1201; took NARA- VARMA prisoner.		5. NARA-VARMA
Yas'óvarma,* 1191 Samvat.	•••••	-		6. Yas'óvarma

AUTHORITIES.

I have met with other grants of this family, in the centre of India, about the ancient city of *Biláspur*; but it would only lead to confusion, to mix them up with this.

It would be occupying too much time further to quote from these allegorical stories of the *Bhója-Charitra*, though from the fourth and the last cantos,‡ historical facts may be extracted. They are all mere vehicles for conveying some particular doctrines, or embodying moral truths under the guise peculiar to the Eastern taste of allegory.

The fourth canto rewarded my notice, by the mere mention of the old city of *Chandrávatí*, then ruled by Chandras'éna, probably a branch of Bhója's family. The story is exactly in their taste.

A Yogi, one of the roaming tribe of Gymnosophists, with which India always abounded, though evidently more of the Epicurean than the Cynic, had previously been a thief, and had undergone the most disgraceful of all punishments, being exposed through the streets on an ass; by command

^{*} See Note I...

of the king, against whom he therefore vowed deadly revenge. He appears to have been a disciple of the sect, described by Gibbon,* "who converted the study of philosophy into that of magic, attempted to explore the secrets of the invisible world, claimed familiar intercourse with demons and spirits, and pretended that they possessed the secret of disengaging the soul from its corporeal prison." The Yógi learned this art in that grand school for magic, Cashmira. He could at pleasure effect this interchangeable metempsychosis. He commanded the soul of the ill-starred Bhója to limit its powers within the frame of a parrot, while he, so soon as he animated the frame of the prince of Dhára, issued his first mandate, to slay all the parrots in his dominions. The now feathered monarch took wing to the forests of Chandrávatí, and was caught by a Palinda.†

The Bhilla carried the bird, which retained the faculty of speech, to Rája Chandraséna; with whose daughter the parrot became a favourite. The captive related his metamorphosis, and by stratagem induced the Yógi king to come suitor for her hand: when he was slain, and Bhója resumed his shape and kingdom.

If any historical fact is meant under this allegory, it would probably be that an invader from the north despoiled Bhója of his kingdom, that he fled in disguise to the wilds, and was carried from his concealment by the wild tribes; and finally, through the daughter of Chandraséna, obtained liberty and aid to regain his kingdom. Bhója lived in the very period of trouble, between Mahmúd's invasion, and the final conquest of India by Shahábuddín.

The last story is of a similar nature, which serves to shew the Jaina cosmogony; a tirade on the Rights of Sanctuary, in a dialogue between a monkey and a lion, in which the long-armed beast delivers some wholesome maxims; and a story, which is meant to shew the superior intellect of the sage Vararuchi. These are all episodes in the adventures of Déva-rája, and Vach-rája; the sons of Bhója, who were banished at the early age of nine and seven, for being boisterous and noisy, and disturbing the old man's rest. Their first adventure is on the sea-coast, where they fall in with a merchant, and go to sea with him. Their vessel is held stationary on the

^{*} Vol. I. p. 182.

ocean by magnetic or other attractive influence; and Déva-RAJA descends into the deep to discover the cause, and finds a submarine temple, dedicated to 'Adinat'ha, and a second Circe, the priestess of worship.

With her he enters into conversation, and she relates a long story, of the first created A'dinat'ha, the first Lord; of his two sons, Bharata, who got the kingdom of Bharata-Khańda and capital Ayódhya, and Báhubala, or "strong-armed," who wandered forth. With this the Jaina genealogies always commence.

For some improper familiarity, this Nereid consumes Déva-Rája to ashes; but somehow he gets translated to the abode of Indra, who compassionately restores his shape, and sends him back to earth, and punishes the sea-nymph by giving her a terrestrial form. She finds her way to the *Prámára's* capital, and becomes the wife of Bhója: her name was Bhánumatí; and on her account, afterwards, the sage Vararuchi falls into disgrace.

The sons, after much wandering, find their way back to Dhárá. Bhója receives them with affection, and gives the elder the title of Yuvarája, a title bestowed on those princes, who are associated to the empire and designated as successors to the throne. This was very common in ancient, and far from uncommon in modern, times. Satiety, or any one in the range of the passions, might lead to it. The dangers, they said, to eternal welfare of sovereigns, made it a common thing with them, having tasted the pleasures and pains of empire, to abdicate and to compound with Heaven in time, by pilgrimage and alms. I have heard a prince (the Ráná of Udayapur), one of the best informed and best read, say of himself and all who wore the diadem, that they were "Naraca-ca-putra," children of hell, for let them do what they could, they sanctioned injustice and a dire host of evils. Sickness, accordingly, to an Asiatic prince, is a holiday to all those "who extend the palm."

I need add no more from the Charitra, and my imperfect analysis of its contents; and here I shall conclude my remarks on the Prámáras.

- " Substance of an Inscription from Madhucara-ghar, in Harouta.
- " May the form of the blue-necked God take up his abode in my bosom! and no other word pass my throat but 'blue-neck.' *
- "The rays emitted from the sparkling gems, in the diadems of the heads of the earth, of each mighty crown of his race, and the flash from the emeralds encircling their breasts, fall on the lotus feet of Rájá Sindhula. His enemies, the mountain † lords, he reduced to dust.
- "Of his body was Bhója, who plundered the wives of his foe; who, to his enemies, was like fire to a forest of dried leaves. After him was Rájá Udayáditya; and when he set,‡ Naravarma arose, who by the strength of his own arms filled his coffers with the riches of victory.
- "In the Sástras, the wisdom of the minister Rudráditya expanded like the full-blown flower: a name well known on the curtain of the earth.
- "From him was born the learned Mahadéva; and from him Sri Hara, who increased the renown of his prince, and who constructed with fair wealth a temple to Siva, adjoining that of his prince. By this have I gained the fruits of my present form, and, with great skill, made this edifice. Between the extremity of the Dakhin and Udichya dés, at the abode (st'han) of Banj, with my own fortune, on the eclipse of the sun, I have erected this temple at the expence of one lack and a quarter of Dirbs.**
 - "On the full moon of Pausha, Samvat 1164." tt

^{*} Nilakánt'ha, one of the titles of MAHA'DÉVA.

⁺ Gir-i'sa, the chiefs of Hill tribes.

[‡] This is a play upon the name: Asta, setting of a planet, contrasted with Udaya, rise of a planet.

f The highland, or plateau, in Central India, seems to have borne this name.—J.T.

Udíchya dés'a signifies Northern region. 'Between the extremity of the Dacshin'a and Udíchya-aés'a.' would signify midway between North and South. As an appellation, Udíchya is 'the country north and west of the river Saraswali,' emphatically termed the Northern Region. Central India is Madhya dés'a, the Middle Region.—H.T.C.

^{||} The name Madhu-kar-garh may have been subsequently given to it. __J.T.

It does not appear from any thing here said, how long before the date of the inscription this eclipse occurred; a solar eclipse visible in India did happen in June 1108.—H.T.C.

^{**} A very common name for an ancient coin, value unknown. - J.T.

⁺⁺ A.D. 1108.—J.T.

NOTES

BY Mr. COLEBROOKE.

(A.) The translations presented to the Society by Major Tod, having been made through the medium of an interpreter, using an intermediate language, I have availed myself of the opportunity, which the original inscriptions on copper offered, for re-examining them; and translating them anew. (See following Essay.)

The copy, which Major Tod procured, of the inscription on marble at Madhucara-ghar, having been mislaid, there has been no opportunity of comparing with it the foregoing translation, made by him through the medium of the Hindi language, with the assistance of a learned native. It may be presumed, that the general scope of the inscription is correctly rendered.

- (B.) Aricésari, in the inscription in question, is the name, not the title, of the prince: its etymology, as is intimated in Sir William Jones's translation of the inscription, is from Ari, foe; and césari, lion: a lion, among foes.
- (C.) DÉVA-PÁLA-DÉVA is the prince, named in the grant engraved on copper, found in the ruins of Mongir.—See As. Res. Vol. 1, p. 126. He is supposed to be the same with the Sri DÉVA-PÁLA, named in the inscription on the pillar at Buddal. (Ib. p. 134.) The tribes of Lásata, and Bhóta, as well as Hun, are mentioned among his subjects, with the tribes of Gaura, Malava, Carnáta, &c. He was therefore sovereign of Thibet and Bootan, as well as of Hindusthan, Bengal, and the Dekhin. It was probably in Thibet that he encountered the Huns, and reduced them to subjection.
- (D.) Paurhá, from the Sanscrit praudha, signifies strong; paurháhí, strength. Paurusha, from purusha, man, is manliness.
- (E.) Or perhaps an orthodox Hindu, following the precepts of the Véda, which sanctions religious suicide by cremation to accelerate the attainment of bliss. Cumárila-bhatta, the great champion of orthodoxy, and insti-

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gator of an exterminating persecution of heretics (Bauddhas and Jainas), ended his own life by committing himself to the flames (Wilson's Sansc. Dict. Pref. p. xix.)

(F.) The epigraph of the Bhója-prabandha, according to most copies of it, names Ballála, as the author. But, in some copies, the name of Vallabha appears. Mr. Wilson considers both to have been by several centuries posterior to Rájá Bhója. (Pref. to Sansc. Dict. p. viii.)

It is not altogether likely that the *Bhója-charitra* and *Bhója-prabandha* should have been works of the same author. The discrepancies are too great, to have come from the same pen.

According to the *Bhója-charitra*, Munja was a supposititious child, and older by five years than Sindhula; whose father Sindhula abdicated in favour of Munja, after disclosing to him his supposititious birth, and recommending Sindhula to his kindness: regardless of which, Munja put out Sindhula's eyes, and afterwards practised against the life of his son, Bhója. But the *Bhója-prabandha* makes Munja to have been younger brother of Sindhula, who abdicated in his favour, recommending his son Bhója to his protection. They differ as widely in many other particulars; scarcely agreeing in any point, besides the reason of Munja's jealousy of Bhója, which was an astrologer's prediction that the young prince was destined to reign, and for a very long period (55 years 7 months 3 days); the circumstance of Bhója's writing to the tyrant with his own blood; and the subsequent repentance and abdication of Munja.

The astrologer's prediction is given in precisely the same words in both works. It is the foundation on which that duration is ordinarily assigned to the reign of Bhója: and not improbably the tale itself is grounded upon a true tradition, that eventually such was the duration of the reign of Bhója.

" Fifty-five years, seven months, and three days, the southern tract, together with Gau da, will be possessed by Вно́ла ка́ла."*

The number is erroneously given by Col. Wilford, quoting Col. Mackenzie, for the tradition concerning it, prevalent in the Dekhin. (As. Resix. 157.)

(G.) Upon a hunting excursion, as SINDHU was taking a solitary walk on the banks of a river, he found an infant lying in a clump of (Munja) grass.

^{*} Bhója charitra, 1.88. Bhója-prabandha, 6.

Pleased with the child's beauty, he took him to his wife, Retnávalí; who was no less surprised; and with his sanction, she gave out that a child was born of a concealed pregnancy; and, her bosom becoming by force of sentiment filled with milk, she suckled the infant: and he passed for the king's own son. Bh. Ch. 1. 14-22.

(H.) Saccharum Munja; a sort of grass, from the fibres of which, cordage is made: and especially the Brahmenical string, or triple thread worn by Bráhmens.

The Bhója-charitra assigns the same reason: viz. that the child was found in a clump of Munja grass. Bh. Ch. 1. 24.

He was not regularly adopted, but taken as a supposititious child. Ib.

- (I.) When the king had left the apartment, Munja bethought himself that "a secret is not safe, which has been heard by six ears:" and dragging the woman from under the bed, cut off her head with his scimitar. The king, hearing the noise, returned; and seeing what had passed, reflected, that "he, who wants sensibility, will guard the prosperity of a realm; and not else." Bh. Ch. 1.44-46.
- (K.) Gòcshura. Caltrops. Tribulus lanuginosus. In India, as in ancient Europe, the implement of war, and the plant from which the idea of it was taken, bear the same name.
 - (L.) Add his sons: Lacshmi varma (Samvat 1200), and Jaya varma.
- (M.) Munja appears to have been reigning in Samvat 1050: being named by the author of a poem, bearing that date. (See Preface to the Dictionary of Amera, p. 3)
- (N.) The *Bhója-charitra* is a poem comprising nearly sixteen hundred stanzas (exactly 1592), distributed in five cantos (prastáva). Вноја's transformation concludes the third canto: his restoration to his human body is told in the fourth.
- (O.) Barbarian: speaking none but a barbaric dialect. Am. Cósh. 2. 10. 21. In the sequel the same individual is called a Bhilla. Bh. Ch. 599 and 607.
- (P.) Written Vach'ha-rája, in the Society's copy of the Bhója-charitra. Probably the name should be Vatsa-rája.